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Female Seminaries in America and Hawai'i During the 19th Century

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

This study is a detailed investigation of Hawaiian female seminaries during the 19th century. In a pivotal work on education history, the historian Bernard Bailyn calls on historians to seek out patterns that have been previously missed.¹ Most histories of education have failed to connect the education of Hawaiian females within the broader history of that in the United States.

Because the primary educators responsible for developing the education system of Hawai'i were Americans, the educational practices for Hawaiian girls tended to mirror, but not necessarily duplicate, what was taking place in the United States. Since Hawaiian female seminaries grew out of the evolution of education of middle-class White women in the United States, I will begin with a general history of American female seminaries. I will then focus on seminaries in Hawai'i. Finally, I will discuss the similarities and/or differences between the American and Hawaiian female seminaries.

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The Hawaiian Journal of History, vol. 37 (2003)

FEMALE EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES

Education in the United States at the beginning of the 19th century was primarily triggered by the need of the new nation to train its members for a republican society. It was believed that women would have to be educated to understand domestic economy because they were to play the major role in educating the young, primarily in their homes, and later as the school population rose and there was a shortage of teachers, as school teachers.² “[T]he ultimate goal of all education was the attainment of fine ethical character. This ethical character was deemed the directing force in life, the basis of citizenship and of all activity.”³ This focus led to the growth of female schools based upon the “cult of true womanhood.” By the middle of the 19th century, due to the industrial revolution, the “true” woman was a middle-class woman, bound to the home in the service of family, the state, and the church.⁴ The “cult of true womanhood” consisted of four related ideas.

First, there was a sharp distinction between home and the economic world that paralleled a perceived distinction between male and female nature. Second, the home was designated as the female’s only sphere of influence. Third, women were considered morally superior to men. And finally, the role of the mother was idealized in terms of her attention to and sacrifice for husband and children.⁵

Female education “was not perceived as terribly threatening to the established order, since it was, in all respects, designed to provide education for hearth and home. In many ways, it did not ‘count’ as ‘real’ education at all, that is education for public life.”⁶

Although academies for upper-class women were in existence prior to the 19th century, the female seminary for middle-class women became the prevailing type of institution from 1820 until after the Civil War.⁷ The most prominent female seminaries were Troy, Hartford, Oxford, Mount Holyoke, and Ipswich. They were all established between 1820 and 1840. In contrast to the academy, which served as a finishing school for women, Helen Horowitz says:

[the seminary] connoted a certain seriousness. The seminary saw its task primarily as professional preparation. The male seminary prepared

men for the ministry; the female seminary took as its earnest job the training of women for teaching and for Republican motherhood.⁸

The founders of the female seminaries were at first men who were committed to providing education for women, but as time went by, more of the founders were women. The financial backing for these seminaries were typically from private sources and the tuition charged the students. Tuition ranged between \$15 and \$25 per semester. Most of the seminaries were built to educate about 100 students; however, their enrollment varied between 50 to 100 students. The founders of these seminaries preferred girls between the ages of 12 and 16.⁹

The instruction at these schools tended to be learning by doing in connection with practical arts of the household. Due to the lack of substantial financial support, many of these schools used a Lancastrian or monitorial system, whereby the more advanced students acted as monitors to supplement the paucity of teachers. In practice, the advance students were given lessons by their teachers in order for them to instruct other students. Instruction was usually done orally since books were not readily available.¹⁰ The women curricularists preferred Johann Pestolozzi's ideas because they emphasized producing "balanced minds," "observing capacities," and "thinking beings."¹¹ Pestalozzi was one of the most influential educational philosophers during the late 18th century who rejected the rote memorization common to educational practices. Instead, he espoused using a form of education in which learning was to be achieved by doing and thinking and connected to the experiences of students.¹² As such, the curriculum at seminaries included a mixture of instruction in morals, religion, literary, domestic, and "ornamental." "Ornamental" instruction involved subjects such as dance, music, sewing, or foreign languages. Very often the schools included manual labor as a means to inculcate industriousness and to help defray the expenses of the school and/or the students. This usually involved having the students do all the services of the school, which included preparing and serving meals and cleaning the buildings of the school. The aims of these early seminaries were to prepare for life. The elements in this life preparation that were stressed included the following: Christian religion and morals, domestic training, maternal influence and social

usefulness, training for the teaching profession, physical health, intellectual enjoyment, and mental discipline.¹³

The American Protestant missionary societies both sponsored and supported female seminaries for these qualities; their missions required educated women to help their husbands evangelize the natives within their mission field. At Mount Holyoke Seminary (fig. 1) the girls were expected to be involved in self-reporting their behaviors and in evangelism. Mount Holyoke is selected for emphasis because, as it will be seen later in this study, many of the teachers involved in Hawaiian female education attended this seminary. An important criterion for success at this seminary was that the girls devoted their lives to Christianity; often this meant becoming missionaries. Helen Horowitz best summarizes the overall intent of the Mount Holyoke model:

... academic subjects to train the mind as an instrument of reason; domestic work and a carefully regulated day to meet material needs

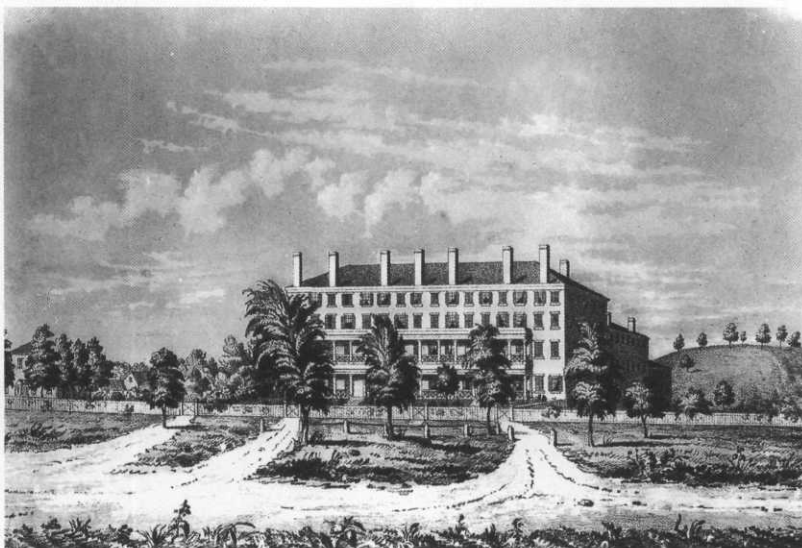


FIG. 1. Mount Holyoke Female Seminary, South Hadley, Massachusetts. Lithograph by Nathaniel Currier (later Currier & Ives) about 1848. Based on a drawing by Persis Thurston, who attended Mount Holyoke and was a daughter of Asa Thurston and Lucy Goodale Thurston, members of the Pioneer Company of missionaries to the Sandwich Islands. The Mount Holyoke College Archives and Special Collections.

and to protect health; a known, clear sequence of each day to lend order and predictability; a corps of transformed teachers who provided proper models for imitation; and a building shaped like a dwelling house as the proper setting for study, prayer, work, and rest.¹⁴

As the emphasis for education shifted from the political goal of "republican mother" to the economic goal of "efficient mother," the domestic training department of the schools became the home economics department, which was the female equivalent of manual training for boys. This was especially true when the manual training movement began to spread throughout the United States during the last two decades of the 19th century.¹⁵

During the second half of the 19th century, many of the female seminaries were instrumental in helping to found other female seminaries in the Midwest or made the transition to higher academics, some becoming the core of female private colleges. The following were the transitional seminaries and the dates they were founded: Troy Seminary (1821), Hartford Seminary (1823), Ipswich Seminary (1828), Mount Holyoke Seminary (1837), and Oxford Seminary (1839). Some of the midwestern seminaries begun through the sponsorship of these transitional seminaries included Rockford Seminary (1847), Milwaukee Seminary (1848), Western Seminary at Oxford, Ohio (1855), and Michigan Seminary at Kalamazoo (1867). By 1893, the core of female institutions of higher learning was in operation. These included Oberlin (1833), Elmira (1855), Vassar (1865), Smith (1875), Wellesley (1875), Bryn Mawr (1880), Radcliffe (1887), and Mount Holyoke (1888).¹⁶

FEMALE EDUCATION FOR HAWAIIANS

Western-style education did not begin in Hawai'i until after members of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) arrived in 1820. Education in ancient Hawai'i was provided by the family, and the instructors were the elders. Most of the instruction involved modeling the correct behavior and the proper attitudes.¹⁷ The initial purpose for missionary education was to lead to reading the Bible since their belief emphasized the individual's coming to Christ required his or her reading the Word for oneself.¹⁸

In keeping with their republican leanings, they would have preferred teaching all Hawaiians equally. Yet, based on their own understanding of the role of women and mistaking that the traditional Hawaiian culture rated women as second-class citizens, they offered Hawaiian men who excelled in the common schools more education.¹⁹ Consequently, when Lahainaluna High School was founded in 1831 as a training center for religious assistants and teachers, only males were selected to attend. However, it is interesting that in 1839, when the first education law of the kingdom was written, it drew from the “cult of true womanhood” prevalent in the United States at this time.

[Education] is the appropriate business of all the females of these islands, to teach children to read, cipher, and write, and other branches of learning, to subject the children to good parental and school laws, to guide the children in right behavior, and place them in schools, that they may do better than their parents.²⁰

The men of the mission to Hawai‘i were prepared for the work by education, work experience, and the sense of a calling. Their backgrounds were usually rural, and often farming had been the family livelihood. They were from the middle class. Their lives were marked by an acquaintance with a variety of skills, hard work, self-denial, thrift, and personal initiative. Their education had been preceded by engagement in various kinds of work: the employment with charitable or religious concerns; and traveling the northeast with tracts, Bibles, and the missionary message, or the call to revival. In many cases, the education of the men had also included an experience with the manual labor system, which had become popular during the first half of the 19th century, especially among the theological seminaries.²²

The women of the mission were quick, efficient, and multi-talented. Also from rural, middle-class backgrounds, they were adaptable in terms of skills, worked to fund their own education, and were not accustomed to leisure or easy living. Although their families could afford further education for them, they did not have the male privilege of extensive, full-time education for years, which culminated in the granting of a formal qualification. Most had secured their education at intervals, while supporting themselves by teaching, by farm labor, or skilled trade.²³ A substantial number of these women did receive their training from the female seminaries emerg-

ing during the first half of the 19th century. When the daughters of these missionaries or new recruits from the United States took over the education of Hawaiian females during the last 40 years of the 19th century, many more were trained in the female seminaries of the United States.²⁴

Prior to when education for females was primarily accomplished in seminaries, there were two initial experimental time periods. The first period was begun immediately, and the first students were adult Hawaiian women. Patricia Grimshaw states:

... that [s]oon after their arrival in Hawai'i in 1820, and over the next three decades, New England missionary women embarked on an ambitious plan to transform Hawaiian girls and women to notions of femininity upheld by their culture.²⁵

Of all the cultural practices of Hawaiian women, the missionaries deemed their sexual ones the most abhorrent. Traditionally, Hawaiian commoners had no formal marriage system. Relationships were tenuous and, at times, could involve multiple partners. Moreover, because sexual relations were looked upon as just one of life's pleasures, sexual activity began at an early age.²⁶ To counteract this practice, the missionaries forced Hawaiians to enter into formal marriages. This was accomplished by getting the high chiefs to proclaim that Christian marriage was to be the law of the land. It was more difficult, however, to eliminate what the missionaries perceived as promiscuity. Secondarily, "sloth and idleness" were also characteristics that the missionaries abhorred among the Hawaiians.²⁷ Consequently, at first the missionaries attempted to use their own life style and homes as models for Hawaiian women to emulate.²⁸

When it became apparent that the Sandwich Islands Mission (SIM) needed to focus its educational efforts on the young, the second period began. In 1835, at the general meeting of the SIM, a resolution was passed to promote boarding schools for Hawaiians; several male boarding schools and two female boarding schools were begun. These female schools, the Wailuku Female Seminary on the island of Maui and the Hilo School for Girls on the island of Hawai'i, were designed primarily to provide wives for the students at the boys' boarding schools.²⁹ Before the 1850s, both of these schools had closed.

Wailuku Female Seminary, or the Central Female Seminary (as it was first called), was the first female school begun by the missionaries. It received support at a time when the missionaries were experimenting with both boarding schools and a manual labor system. The school was opened in 1837 under the supervision of Reverend Jonathan S. Green and Miss Lydia Brown.³⁰ Reverend Green was educated at Theological Seminary at Andover, Massachusetts, where he had experienced manual labor training. He also had some experience with the education being provided the Hawaiian men at Lahainaluna High School. Miss Lydia Brown had been recruited to serve the mission in Hawai'i as a teacher; although she also taught academic subjects, she specialized in the teaching of carding, spinning, weaving, and knitting of cotton and wool.³¹ They commenced immediately to oversee the erection of a suitable building for the school. On July 6, 1837, the school opened with six little girls. The number increased during the year to become an average of about 30 students. While Reverend Green was busy with the school, Edward Bailey assisted him with station duties, including teaching the station school, superintending the schools throughout the district, and dealing with people's medical needs. Edward Bailey and his wife, Caroline Hubbard Bailey, were selected to join the mission in Hawai'i for their teaching abilities. No mention was made of their education. In November, Miss Maria Odgen was added to the staff, and the enrollment grew to an average of about 50 students.³² Unlike the instructors for the boys' school, who were usually ordained ministers, the girls' instructors tended to be women with teaching experiences who were from the United States and selected for their high ideals and earnest Christian purpose in order that they be models for the girls.³³ The following statement by Miss Odgen best illustrates this purpose:

I feel it important as far as our means will allow to root out every vestige of their former manner of living[,] raise them in morals and civilization as high as we can get them. So I am obliged to be wide awake in the school, at the table[,] and in the playground[,] and even follow them into their bed chambers. I am more and more satisfied that nothing but just constant vigil and supervision will accomplish the object we aim at.³⁴

A great deal of the vigilance pertained to controlling the students' sexuality, and this was accomplished by implementing the compo-

nents of the "virtue of purity": secluding the girls in individual sleeping areas, assigning them to wear uniforms, requiring daily bathing, and admonishing them to control not only their actions but their thoughts as well.³⁵ The academic curriculum was elementary, and included reading, writing, arithmetic, and geography. Once the school was up and running, the schedule for the usual day included prayers at daylight, one hour of light labor in the garden, breakfast, and miscellaneous work. From about nine to eleven a.m., Miss Odgen (who after Mr. Edward Bailey took over the school replaced Miss Brown) taught them spinning, sewing, knitting, and weaving. Mr. Bailey instructed them in the academic subjects from two to four p.m. They labored in the open fields from four to five p.m. with hoes and other implements mainly for exercise. The day ended with supper and prayers. From the beginning, the students at the school were constantly ill. The labor in the gardens was added as a feature to counteract the students' ill health.³⁶

The primary outcome of the school was to have the girls marry the boys of Lahainaluna Seminary. In 1842, in keeping with its new-found desire to train some of the male students to become Hawaiian pastors, the American Board renamed the boys' school as a seminary. Thus, special attention in the females' training was paid to teaching them to perform all the duties as wives and mothers. This was accomplished by instructing them how to prepare sleeping quarters, prepare meals, set table for eating, wash dishes, and other household chores.³⁷ The missionaries feared that all the good work that they were doing with the Lahainaluna students would be ruined and the graduates would "sink rapidly to an equality with their companions" if they ended up marrying non-pious, illiterate females. If, on the other hand, they married "females of cultured minds, and civilized manners, and especially of industrious habits and pious dispositions," they felt assured that their labor would not have been in vain.³⁸ Thus, the domestic arts portion of the Seminary curriculum was crucial as it was "central to the Western concept of women's domestic sphere."³⁹ Sheldon Dibble, a missionary and first scholar of Hawaiian history, best summarizes the overall intent of the female seminary:

The plan and design of the Female Seminary is to take a class of young females into a boarding school—away in a measure from the contaminating influence of heathen society, to train them to habits of indus-

try, neatness, and order, to instruct them in employments suited to their sex, to cultivate the minds, to improve their manners and to instill the principles of our holy religion—to fit them to be suitable companions for the scholars of the Mission Seminary and examples of propriety among the females of the Sandwich Islands.⁴⁰

About the same time that Lahainaluna was being transferred to the government, Wailuku Female Seminary (the name that Central Female Seminary eventually assumed) was also undergoing a transition. It was not transferred to the government, but it was changed into a co-educational day school. The general meeting of 1849 had given permission to Mr. Bailey to make this change. The school was re-oriented to offer education to either Hawaiians or foreigners, whose parents, guardians, or patrons would pay a reasonable sum for tuition. Prior to this change, no tuition was charged the girls for their education. In practice, half of its enrollment tended to be full-blooded Hawaiian and the other half was *hapa haole* (half Hawaiians). Mr. Bailey taught the boys and Miss Odgen taught the girls. The Prudential Committee of the ABCFM approved of the changes, released them from their connection with the Mission, and gave them use of the school property and buildings. The school lasted until 1858, when due to the parents or sponsors of the children not meeting their financial obligations the school closed.⁴¹

Fidelia Coan, the wife of Reverend Titus Coan, began Hilo Girls' Boarding School in 1838. She had been before her marriage a teacher at Middlebury Female Seminary in Vermont.⁴² The Hilo school was opened for 20 girls from seven to 10 years old. Hilo residents helped erect and furnish the school building, and arranged to supply food for the pupils. Since the school only lasted for eight years, it never was able to satisfy its objective of providing wives for the boys of Hilo Boarding School. Nevertheless, the girls who were trained at the school did distinguish themselves "for neatness, skill, industry and piety."⁴³ Fidelia Coan states her curriculum was "rudiments of necessary book knowledge, and of singing, sewing, washing and ironing, gardening, and other things."⁴⁴ Book knowledge provided learning in reading, writing, geography, natural history of beasts, and arithmetic. In addition, the girls helped to maintain a garden alongside the school. Titus Coan, who at times shared the duties of running the school with his wife, states:

I never, in any country saw a school of twenty little children so uniformly meek, quiet, gentle, docile, and industrious as these little girls. They are a company of bright faces and happy hearts. Their contentment has seemed perfect from the first. No one wishes to leave the school; no one sheds homesick tears. All are cheerful as the lark, and, by their obedient and affectionate manners, they have entwined themselves closely around our hearts.⁴⁶

Ultimately, the school closed due to Mrs. Coan's failing health.⁴⁷

It seems that the first experiments in educating girls was during a period of little interest in their education. Ralph Kuykendall, notable Hawaiian history scholar, explains that Hawaiian parents were less interested in the education of their daughters than of their sons.⁴⁸ According to Kuykendall, there was much more interest in female education after the 1850s as evidenced by discussions in the periodicals of those years. These discussions were especially concerned about the dismal conditions of the ordinary Hawaiian home, which they felt required that girls be removed to boarding schools.⁴⁹

Because of the encouragement of the missionaries, even the government took an interest. On January 16, 1860, the Privy Council authorized the chartering of the Makiki Family School.⁵⁰ In family schools, young girls lived in the homes of the instructors; the instruction included both academics and domestic craft. The latter was usually accomplished through the teachers modeling civilized behavior and the management of the home. The closing of Wailuku School had freed Miss Maria Odgen, and she was called upon to establish this school.⁵¹ The Hawaiian government's aid was in the form of capitation fees paid per child on the following scale: for every child in a family school (later to include female seminaries) for six months, 10 dollars was paid; for one year, 20 dollars was paid; for two to three years, 25 dollars was paid; and for four years or more, 30 dollars was paid.⁵² The legislative assembly of 1860 amended the Civil Code giving specific authority to the Board of Education to establish family schools for Hawaiian girls and also made it lawful for the schools to be aided by the government even if private organizations or individuals operated them.⁵³

In 1865, the board of education adopted special rules for the governance of these schools. Schools should teach reading and writing in either English or Hawaiian, arithmetic, the elements of grammar

and geography, and some branch of industrial work. The internal arrangements of the schools had to be conducive to the physical and moral well being of the pupils. The schools were to be conducted on Christian principles, but to each board of directors or trustees was given the fullest discretion as to the form of Christianity they might believe it right to inculcate.⁵⁴

At the start of this period of female education, the driving force behind it was still the intent to train Hawaiian females to proper domestic habits. Richard Armstrong, a former missionary who was the Minister of Public Instruction during this period, exclaims that “what the Hawaiian people want is *mothers, mothers, mothers*, to train their sons and daughters; to reign in the domestic circle and make homes, quiet, well ordered, clean and happy homes.”⁵⁵ As in the earlier period, there was still the concern about the “sexual depravity” of Hawaiian women. Reverend Claudius B. Andrews’ words best summarizes this concern:

I consider the extinction of the race as demonstrated, in spite of all of our institutions and expenditures, unless those who *should* be virtuous mothers and wives, are trained to abhor the fatal pollution which as concubines and prostitutes they transmit, tainting the heart’s blood of the race, and paralyzing our Christian institutions among them. However it maybe elsewhere, Hawaiian morals are precisely those of their women.⁵⁶

There was also beginning to be more concern about providing the graduates of female schools with the means of a livelihood as well. Besides training the girls to produce household goods or obtaining domestic skills that they could sell, there were also voices calling for the training of Hawaiian females as either missionaries or public school teachers.⁵⁷

Although the Hawaiian government was willing to financially support female seminaries, it was still up to independent organizations or individuals to establish these schools. As had always been the case in terms of education in Hawai‘i, the American Protestant missionaries again took the lead. A circular sent by Reverends John Pogue and Seth Andrews seeking answers from the various missionaries throughout the Hawaiian Islands helped to fashion the missionaries’ policies for a series of new seminaries. The Missionary Letters Collection of

the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society (HMCS) library did not have the circular, but the responses to this circular by the various missionaries indicated that there were five questions being asked: 1) What proportion of unmarried Hawaiian girls who have attained the age of puberty remain physically chaste? 2) Should there be the establishment of female seminaries? 3) Should the seminaries be like Wailuku Female Seminary? 4) At what age should the education begin? 5) How should the seminaries be financed? The consensus of their responses included the following: seminaries were needed like the earlier Wailuku Female Seminary; the girls needed to begin their education at a very young age; the girls should stay at the seminary until they married or found employment; the seminaries should be boarding schools in order to keep the students away from corrupting influences; the seminaries should be located away from major port cities, where the bad influences were greatest; parents or guardians should pay for the expenses of the girls; the seminaries should have at least two instructors, one for academics and one for household arts, and that the pay be high enough to attract competent teachers; and the seminaries should teach in the English language and use a manual labor curriculum, which would help defray the costs and prepare girls for life after school.⁵⁸

The first female seminary to be established was the Ka'u Seminary located on the island of Hawai'i. In 1862, Orramel Hinckley Gulick and his wife, Ann Eliza Clark Gulick, began the school. Both were the children of missionaries and had graduated from Punahou School. Punahou was a school established in 1841 by the missionaries for their children and was very successful at sending its graduates to college. While Orramel received all his education in Hawai'i, Anna Eliza was a graduate of Mount Holyoke Seminary.⁵⁹ Because of the isolated location of the seminary, it was difficult to attract many students to the school. As a consequence, tuition and board were free, as long as the girls were placed under the parental care of the teachers of the school until the girls were married or obtained employment.⁶⁰ After struggling to fill the school, in 1865, the Hawaiian Evangelical Association (HEA) decided to transplant the school to Waialua, O'ahu. The HEA opened the latter school with 50 students, ranging in age from 11 to 15. Contrary to the advice of the other missionaries, the students were instructed in the Hawaiian language. In a letter written by Mr. Gulick,

quoted in a missionary pamphlet, he states that "we are satisfied that the girls will compare favorably with those of their countrymen who have spent an equal length of time in the acquisition of ideas through the English."⁶²

The girls at Waialua Female Seminary (fig. 2) came from families to whom the traditional Hawaiian culture was still practiced. The objective of the school was to transform the girls into New England ladies. Therefore, they dressed the girls in calico as opposed to their usual *holoku*, had them sleep in beds rather than on mats on the floor, and made them eat at a table with silverware instead of on the floor using their fingers. The schedule for the day began with breakfast, followed by each girl reading from the Hawaiian Bible, and after the principal offered a prayer in Hawaiian, they were dismissed to begin the routine work, which encompassed all the work necessary to maintain the school except for carting and carrying firewood and baking and pounding the taro for poi. The older girls put the food away, washed the dishes, and swept the floor. The younger girls dispersed to do various tasks, which included sweeping and dusting the parlor, the sitting-room or the schoolroom, gathering up the litter of leaves

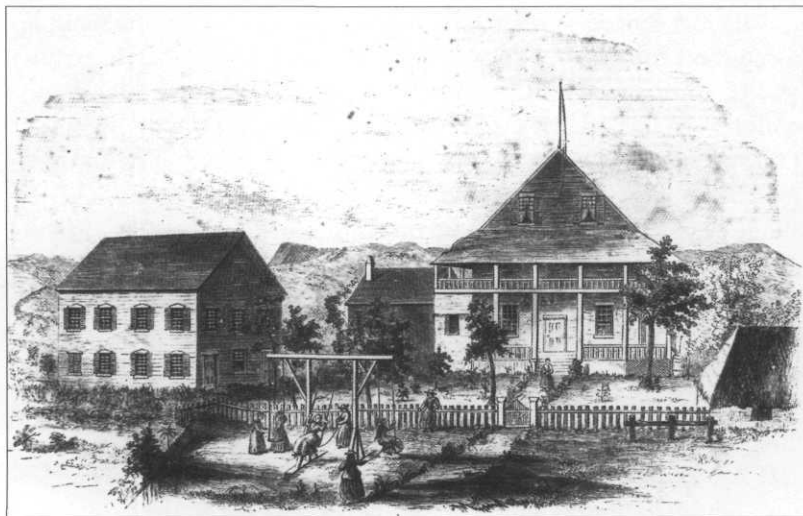


FIG. 2. Waialua Female Seminary, founded in 1865 at Waialua, O'ahu, by the Reverend O. H. Gulick. Hawaiian Mission Children's Society.

and branches from the yard and garden paths, or putting the teachers' rooms in order. Some of the girls were involved with preparing the meals. All the girls washed and ironed clothes once a week. The academic work took place between nine a.m. and twelve p.m. and one and four p.m. An hour and a half was spent on gardening and farming.⁶³ Through this training, according to an instructor, "[i]t is our endeavor, by the course of study and training they shall receive, to fit them for missionaries and teachers, and to be the mothers of a part of the future redeemed Hawaiian nation."⁶⁴ The curriculum included geography, arithmetic, surveying, astronomy, singing, Bible history, and the Bible in general. Manual training consisted of instruction in cutting and sewing dresses, in washing, ironing, cooking, cleaning house, and painting.⁶⁵

Based on an original manuscript that provided details on each student enrolled in the school from 1865 to 1870, several features of this school are revealed. First, it was very important to the sponsors of the school that the girls become members of the Christian church. Nearly 58 percent of the students were members. Second, the school did keep the girls until they graduated (40 percent of the enrollment), married (34 percent of the enrollment), were employed (4 percent of the enrollment), left for health reasons (6 percent of the enrollment), or were dismissed for not applying themselves or for bad behavior (16 percent of the enrollment).⁶⁶ The school was also meeting its goal in preparing some of its students to become wives of ministers or missionaries (22 percent of enrollment) and teachers (12 percent of enrollment).⁶⁷ Although the teachers would never have called these figures a success, they indeed reflected that their efforts were leading to results they intended. No doubt this can be attributed to the rapport between the teachers and the students as seen by the words of O.H. Gulick: "I am satisfied that such intimate and correct love and acquaintance between teachers and scholars has not been before known between Hawaiians and their teachers as there is between us and these girls."⁶⁸

In December of 1870, the school closed when the American Board sent the Gulicks to evangelize in Japan.⁶⁹ The school was reopened April 3, 1871, under the charge of Miss Mary E. Green. She was a daughter of missionaries and educated at Punahou School and Mount Holyoke Seminary.⁷⁰ Except for the addition of instruction in

both the English and Hawaiian languages, the school was conducted mainly as it had in its first six years. English became the language of instruction in academic subjects while the Hawaiian language continued to be the language to study the Bible and other related Christian studies.⁷¹ Miss Green ran the school until 1882, when due to her ill health, she could do so no longer. The property was sold and the money was given to the trustees of Kawaiaha'o Seminary in Honolulu for the erection of new buildings.⁷²

Kawaiaha'o Seminary (fig. 3) was begun at first as a school for the daughters of Dr. Luther H. Gulick and South Sea island girls in the Clark house, just south of Kawaiaha'o Church. As the enrollment grew, the need for a more permanent organization was required. By this time, the Education Committee of the HEA had issued a report on the need for a female seminary in Honolulu. The authors of this report wanted this school to be primarily religious, a boarding school with a day school department, taught in both English and Hawaiian, supported by tuition paid by parents or guardians of the students, and be a manual labor school in order that the girls be trained and practice in all that pertains to housekeeping and the domestic arts.⁷³

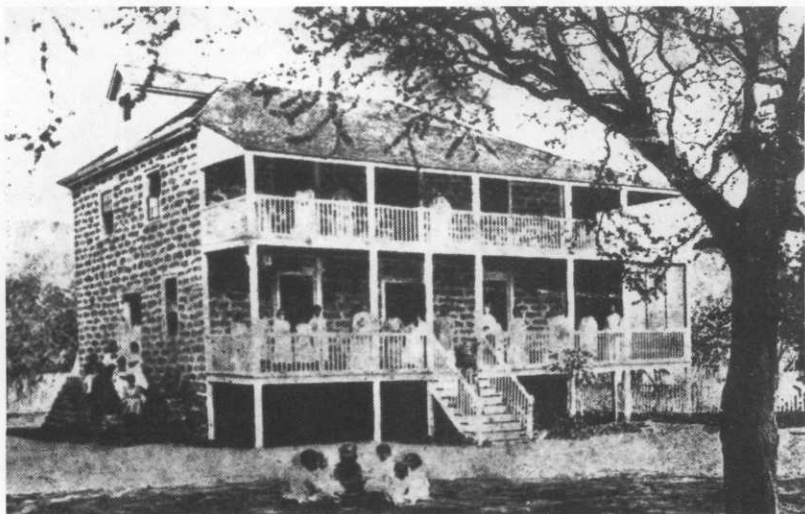


FIG. 3. Kawaiaha'o Female Seminary, Honolulu, in 1867. Hawaiian Mission Children's Society.

In 1867, the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society (HMCS) decided to support a girls' boarding school. This was an organization consisting of the children of the missionaries and adopted supporters, which operated separately from the HEA. They were looking for a cause to support when this opportunity availed itself. After this initial support, HMCS became a regular contributor to all the Hawaiian female seminaries.⁷⁴ They selected Miss Lydia Bingham as principal, and it was officially named the Kawaiaha'o Female Seminary. She was the daughter of Reverend Hiram Bingham, a member of the first company of missionaries to Hawai'i, who returned home to raise his children after his wife died. Miss Bingham had been the principal of the Ohio Female Seminary and had been brought from Ohio earlier that year by Dr. L. H. Gulick to assist him with his emerging school.⁷⁵ The Hawaiian Board appropriated \$1000 for repairs and additions to the buildings then occupied by Dr. Gulick and the girls in his family school. The capitation aid from the government was indispensable in helping to keep the price charged for board and tuition low.⁷⁶ The tuition varied from \$25 to \$33 during the entire history of the school. At first, Miss Lizzie Johnson assisted Miss Lydia Bingham in the management of the school. In January 1869, Miss Elizabeth K. Bingham arrived from the United States to be an assistant to her sister. Elizabeth Bingham was a graduate of Mount Holyoke and, when she was recruited, was a teacher at Rockford Female Seminary.⁷⁷ The breaking up of Miss Odgen's school at Makiki in 1868 increased the enrollment and the needs of the school.⁷⁸ Already the enrollment was over 50 students. Throughout the rest of the century, a number of assistants and principals came and went. Private citizens, the American Board, the Hawaiian Board, and the HMCS poured more money into the school. New buildings were constructed, enabling the school to offer an industrial education program and increase its enrollment. Between 1881 and the end of the century, the enrollment grew from 57 to 127 students. In 1876, due to the growing expense of the school, the Hawaiian board invited the government to join them in supporting the school. A board of trustees was established. As a result of the government contributing funds, it had a say in the membership of this board. In spite of this arrangement, all the trustees remained members of the missionary group.⁷⁹

Originally, Kawaiaha'o Seminary was both a day and boarding

school. But from 1871 on, it became an exclusively a boarding school. At first the school was designed to prepare Hawaiian girls to become "suitable" wives for men who were at the same time preparing to become missionaries and work in the South Seas. This objective took the back seat to industrial education as new industrial departments were added. This included sewing, washing and ironing, dressmaking, domestic arts, and nursing. The mainstay of the curriculum involved furnishing complete elementary courses, including music, both vocal and instrumental, and training in the household arts. Concerts given by the girls helped the school to make money. The words of a part of the "Industrial Song" demonstrate the impact that industrial education was having on this school.

[First chorus]

Oh. We're busy workers so ready and so willing,
Always busy and happy and gay,
For we're learning, learning, ever learning,
How to fill the hours of each day . . .

[Last chorus]

Oh. We're busy workers so ready and so willing,
Always busy and happy and gay,
While we wash, iron, bake, clean, read, write, sew, and garden
To fill the hours of each day.⁸⁰

While Kawaiaha'o was both growing and changing into an industrial school, two other female seminaries came into existence. The first of these to be discussed is the Kohala Female Seminary. Originally, Reverend Elias Bond and his wife, Ellen Howell Bond, had founded both boys' and girls' boarding schools in Kohala, which is located on the west side of the island of Hawai'i. Reverend Bond was a graduate of Bowdoin College and Bangor Theological Seminary, Maine. Ellen Bond had studied at Gorham Female Seminary and expected to be a foreign missionary. But due to the pressures of other work, they were both forced to close their respective schools.⁸¹ In 1873, after \$2500 was raised, a school for girls was reorganized as the Kohala Female Seminary. The grounds were cleared, a stone foundation and fences built, water system laid out, and the main buildings for classes and living were constructed. The school officially opened in 1874. Miss Elizabeth Lyons came from the mission at Waimea to be its first principal. Forty-five girls enrolled but soon increased to 60

and outgrew the first dormitory. In 1878, the first schoolhouse was converted into a second dormitory, and a new schoolhouse was erected. The school flourished for 10 years. Then a serious typhoid epidemic occurred. Miss Lyons was forced to return home to Waimea to care for her aged father. No one could be found to replace her, so the school was closed.⁸²

In 1887, the Bonds turned over the property for the school to the HEA Board under the conditions that it be used as a boarding school for girls and follow the same evangelical principles for which the school had been founded. Katherine Bond, a daughter of the Bond's, states: "[t]he aims and ideals of the school have always been to furnish a wholesome Christian home training, together with a practical education such as will fit the girls to become housekeepers, wage earners, and generally good citizens." The girls were allowed to do work in lieu of the tuition and room and board fees, which also minimized the costs for the school. The tuition was \$25 per semester throughout the 19th century. This involved washing and ironing clothes, cooking, baking taro twice a week, and raising potatoes, taro, and other vegetables. The curriculum included arithmetic, history, language, geography, reading, spelling, civics, and the Bible. The industrial program included *lauhala* mat weaving, sewing, cooking, crafts, music, hygiene, and gymnastics.⁸³ The graduates of the Kohala Female Seminary were preferred as employees by the manager of Parker Ranch, which during most of the 20th century was the largest singly owned ranch in the United States. The Reverend T.C. Williams reports that the graduates tended to gravitate towards work in welfare, religion, or politics. He also declares that they give "Christian dignity and an American atmosphere to the homes of professional men, political or business leaders, or caring for themselves, living discreetly, soberly and in fear of God."⁸⁴ A statement made in a journal published in Hawai'i best summarizes the attitude about this school:

It was the original purpose of Mr. Bond to establish a school for girls that should give them a higher and broader education than was available at the time in the public schools, besides giving them a wholesome Christian home training. During these years the school has registered no less than eight hundred girls, many of whom are living lives of usefulness as teachers in the public schools of Hawai'i or as wives and mothers in their own homes.⁸⁵

The last of the female seminaries that was begun by the missionaries was at first called the Makawao Family School. Reverend Claudius B. Andrews and his wife, Anne Seward Gilson Andrews, began it in 1861 in a location above Makawao Village on the island of Maui. He was a graduate of Western Reserve College and Lane Seminary in Ohio. No mention was made of Mrs. Andrews' education. His purpose was to create a school where the girls were taught as if they were his own daughters.⁸⁶ Borrowing \$3000, which he added to the \$1000 he had received from his father for emergencies, he built the house that became the school.⁸⁷ The curriculum was not based primarily on book knowledge; instead "they would be given the essential elements of the true character building, looking to future development of Hawaiian womanhood."⁸⁸ A year after the school began, Mrs. Andrews died. Throughout the next seven years, Reverend Andrews received help from a variety of people, and attendance grew to 70 students. But then in 1869, after the school building burned, the school was closed. It reopened in 1871, as a special project of the Henry P. Baldwin family, under a board of trustees, and after the erection of new buildings, as the East Maui Female Seminary or Maunaloa Seminary (fig. 4).⁸⁹ Henry Baldwin was the son of missionaries, educated at Punahou School and O'ahu College, taught for a while at Lahainaluna Seminary, and at this time was amassing a fortune as a sugar planter.⁹⁰ Reverend Andrews, along with his second wife, Samantha Washburne Wilson Andrews, were in charge of operating the school. Miss Helen E. Carpenter was engaged as an assistant teacher. The second Mrs. Andrews was a sister of his first wife. Both Samantha Andrews and Helen Carpenter were graduates of Mount Holyoke Seminary. In 1874, the latter was appointed principal.⁹¹

Throughout the years after the reorganization, the curriculum included the usual academic courses in reading, mathematics, literature, history, language (all instruction was in English), geography, spelling, civics, and the Bible. The industrial departments included sewing, domestic arts, and culinary. During the last two decades of the 19th century, the school was nicknamed the Mount Holyoke Seminary of the Hawaiian Islands due to the connection of its instructors with that American seminary and the large number of Hawaiian Islands ministers' daughters in attendance.⁹² Additions to the buildings and aid from both the Government and the ABCFM led to the enrollment climbing to 100 pupils.⁹³

The school was successful on many levels. Even though the missionary founders no longer aimed to have the women graduates of this school marry Lahainaluna graduates who were entering the ministry, this was indeed happening frequently. Many of the graduates became teachers, either at other seminaries or in the public schools.⁹⁴

All four of the Hawaiian female seminaries begun after 1860 shared a great deal in common. They were all examples of the continuation of an education based on the "cult of true womanhood." When one reads the reports of the principals of these seminaries in the annual reports of the HEA and the HMCS, they continuously highlight the successes and/or failures they were having with training their students to become good Christian housewives and models for other Hawaiian women. They exhibited pride in the marriages of their students, especially if their husbands were Hawaiian pastors or missionaries. Towards the last 20 years of the 19th century, Kawaiaha'o, Kohala, and Maunaolu seminaries expanded their enrollment (table 1). Most likely this was due to the success the seminaries were having in preparing its students for paid employment, which coincided with the growth of industrial departments and the acquisition of industrial skills by the students.

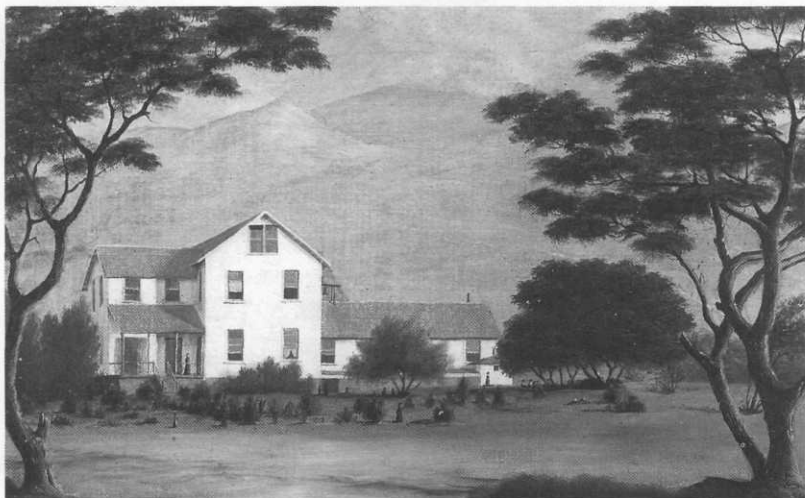


FIG. 4. East Maui Female Seminary, or Mauna'olu Seminary. Undated painting by Edward Bailey, teacher and a member of the Eighth Company of missionaries to Hawaii. Hawaiian Mission Children's Society.

Table 1. Enrollment figures for Hawaiian female seminaries.

School	1870	1880	1890	1900
Waialua	52	56	—	—
Kawaiaha'o	36	46	142	116
Kohala	—	60	71	60
Mauna'olu	80	96	110	87

Source: Compiled from HMCS, *Annual Reports* (1870–1900)

At the end of the century, all the female seminaries began to lose students to the newly founded Kamehameha School for Girls. This latter school was established in 1894; it was not technically a seminary or founded by missionaries, but all the girls enrolled were Hawaiian, and its curriculum was very similar to what was used at the missionary sponsored seminaries.⁹⁵ Since Kawaiaha'o Seminary was located only a few miles from this new female school, it experienced the biggest loss in enrollment and adjusted by enrolling more non-Hawaiian students. In 1904, it merged with a boys' school to become Mid-Pacific Institute. Kohala Female Seminary and Mauna'olu Female Seminary continued to exist through the 1920s, offering a high school diploma to their graduates.

COMPARING AMERICAN AND HAWAIIAN FEMALE SEMINARIES

Even though the students educated in Hawaiian female seminaries during the 19th century were not White, middle-class young women, there are many ways in which their education was similar to that class of females in the seminaries of the United States, at least until the schools for the latter became institutions of higher learning. In terms of tuition, enrollment, and age of the students, both American and Hawaiian seminaries were quite comparable. Insofar as the purpose for educating girls, the most predominant similarity was the use of the "cult of true womanhood" as the ultimate goal of education. From the first period, when adult Hawaiian women were educated by missionary wives, through the creation of seminaries for Hawaiian girls, there was a common thread of preparing the students to be ethical models in their homes. Like the American schools, this goal was

mainly carried out through the use of seminaries. In both sets of seminaries, the curriculum was also very similar. This included a reliance on the practical arts of the household and instruction in morals, religion, literary, domestic, and ornamentals. There was also a similar shift from training the girls to be "republican mothers" to becoming "efficient mothers." In Hawai'i, this involved infusing into the curriculum of their seminaries more coursework in manual labor and manual training. This was very apparent during the last 20 years of the 19th century, when the education at Hawaiian female seminaries began to shift from preparing their graduates to marry Hawaiian men going into the ministry to training the women to be teachers or proficient in some industrial skill.

These similarities are not coincidental. After all, the educators in Hawai'i were educated in American institutions that had been involved in creating or supporting the American female seminaries. Even when the educators were men (usually missionaries), they married women who had been educated in American female seminaries. As the educators of these Hawaiian female seminaries shifted to being run entirely by women, who were either the daughters of missionaries or were recruited from American schools, most often they were graduates of American female seminaries, particularly of Mount Holyoke Seminary.

There are some major contrasts as well between Hawaiian and American female seminaries. Many of the differences relate to the fact that Hawaiian female education was primarily a tool by the missionaries to convert Hawaiian girls to Christianity and to acculturate them to the values and the life style of American culture. This meant that education for Hawaiian girls was mostly concerned with changing their values, attitudes, and behaviors. Whereas, the education at American female seminaries, which only needed to re-enforce Christianity and the values and life styles of their students, tended to focus more on developing graduates who were self-actualizing. Moreover, throughout the 19th century, the educators were concerned with the sexual depravity of Hawaiian females. Fearing for the morality of their students, the educators of Hawaiian females tended to exercise more control over their students than did educators in the American schools. For example, there was very little reliance on the Lancastrian system of teaching in Hawaiian education. This was probably due to

the lack of trust the educators had in their students. In addition, the educators in Hawai'i felt the need to inculcate industriousness in their students, a value they felt was lacking in the Hawaiian culture. This led them to emphasize manual labor and manual training more than was present in the education for White, middle-class American females. Finally, since Hawaiian female education was delivered by missionaries or supporters of the mission to convert Hawaiians to Christianity, there was less enthusiasm over the academic successes of their students; usually the emphasis was on whether the girls converted to Christianity and were married or employed when they left the school.

Another area in which there was a major difference relates to the organizational structure of the two sets of seminaries. The American seminaries were better financed than the ones in Hawai'i. Due to the success of industrialization in the United States, many philanthropists were involved in providing funding for American female seminaries. In Hawai'i, the only industry providing income for a rising entrepreneurial class was the struggling sugar plantations; money from philanthropy was very limited until after annexation to the United States. The result of this situation was that whereas the American female seminaries were generally independent of outside forces, seminaries in Hawai'i were under the influence of a number of organizations. Because the Hawaiian female seminaries were inspired by and financed by the collaborative efforts of the Hawaiian government, the HEA, and the HMCS, the educators at these schools often had very little freedom to determine the education at their schools. Teaching in the English or Hawaiian language, emphasizing a Christian education, and infusing manual labor and manual training were all elements of the curriculum of Hawaiian female seminaries because of the influence of these organizations. Based on the letters written by the principals of these Hawaiian seminaries, it is obvious that they were constantly testing the waters of the curriculum of their schools. But being the pragmatists that they were, they dared not kill off the financing they so desperately needed by challenging any of these organizations. As a result, during the 19th century, Hawaiian female seminaries never evolved into academic institutions. In the 20th century only Mauna'olu Seminary became an institution of higher learning when in May of 1958 it became a two-year college, expanded in 1969 to a four-year program, then ceased altogether in 1977.

NOTES

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